

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 7 PEKING 0723

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (J. BRADEMAS; R. SCHWEIKER)

SUBJ: CODEL BRADEMAS/SCHWEIKER MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER
LI SHIEN-NIEN

1. NOTE: THIS MEMCON HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED WITH THE CODEL
FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF BRADEMAS/SCHWEIKER MEETING
WITH VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE
PEOPLE, APRIL 12, 3:00 PM.

2. PARTICIPANTS:

PRC: HUA HUA, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
LI HSIEN-NIEN, VICE PREMIER
HAO TE-CHING, PRESIDENT OF CHINESE PEOPLE'S
INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA)
TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG), DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR
AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
KANG TAI-SHA, VICE SECRETARY GENERAL, CPIFA
TIEN TING, DIVISION CHIEF, CPIFA
LIEN CHENG-PAO, DEPUTY DIVISION CHIEF, UNITED
STATES AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SHIH YEN-HUA, INTERPRETER, MFA
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CODEL:

REPRESENTATIVE BRADEMAS
SENATOR SCHWEIKER
REPRESENTATIVE CONTE
SENATOR ROTH

REPRESENTATIVE ANDREWS
SENATOR CULVER
REPRESENTATIVE EDWARDS
SENATOR DURKING
REPRESENTATIVE DANIELSON
REPRESENTATIVE MIKULSKI
MR. CARTER
MR. OKSENBERG, NSC
MR. ROY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MR. FREE, WHITE HOUSE
MR. DALPORTO, USSS
MR. HOLMAN, USSS
MR. REIM, USSS

USLO:

AMBASSADOR GATES
MR. BROOKS

3. MR. LI: I WOULD LIKE FIRST OF ALL TO WELCOME CONGRESSMAN BRADEMÁS,
SENATOR SCHWEIKER AND ALL OF
OUR OTHER FRIENDS. ALSO I HEAR THAT JAMES EARL CARTER,
III IS AMONG THE GROUP. IS THAT THE YOUNG
MAN? YES, I KNOW HE HAS BROUGHT A LETTER FROM
PRESIDENT CARTER TO CHAIRMAN HUA. CHAIRMAN HUA
HAS RECEIVED THE LETTER AND ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS
THANKS. ON YOUR RETURN I REQUEST THE DELEGATION
AND MR. CARTER TO TAKE THE GREETINGS OF CHAIRMAN
HUA BACK TO PRESIDENT CARTER. HOW MANY DAYS HAVE
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YOU BEEN IN CHINA?

CONGRESSMAN BRADEMÁS: FIVE DAYS, BUT THEY SEEM TO
BE ALL RUNNING TOGETHER.

VICE PREMIER LI: I HEAR YOU HAVE HAD A DISCUSSION
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA AND WITH PRESIDENT
HAO TEH-CHING OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE INTERPRETER HERE ALSO SAT IN
ON THOSE CONVERSATIONS. THEY PROBABLY SAID ALL
THERE IS TO SAY. THEY HAVE LEFT ME WITH
NOTHING MORE TO TALK ABOUT. ANYWAY, I WELCOME YOU TO CHINA.
MAYBE YOU WILL HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY. I SEE YOU
HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY. I SEE YOU HAVE SEVERAL
PAGES (POINTING TO NOTES IN CONGRESSMAN BRADEMÁS'S
HAND).

CONGRESSMAN BRADEMÁS: I WILL SPEAK VERY BRIEFLY.
AT THE OUTSET I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP

APPRECIATION TO YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES FOR INVITING THIS DELEGATION, WHICH IS THE FIRST VISIT TO CHINA BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SINCE PRESIDENT CARTER WAS INAUGURATED, AND FOR MAKING OUR STAY SO ENJOYABLE AND INSTRUCTIVE.

4. PRESIDENT CARTER, TO WHOM I SPOKE SHORTLY BEFORE LEAVING, AND HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR MR. BRZEZINSKI WANTED YOU TO KNOW THREE CONCRETE POINTS THAT THEY BELIEVE ARE IMPORTANT, EVEN CRITICAL, FOR UNDERSTANDING THE ATTITUDE ALL OF US HAVE TOWARD OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

5. THE FIRST POINT, MR. VICE PREMIER, IS THAT THE UNITED STATES REGARDS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO BE CRUCIAL TO OUR GLOBAL FOREIGN POLICY AND DOES NOT REGARD OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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RELATIONSHIP AS SIMPLY A REGIONAL ONE.

6. THE SECOND POINT IS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER BELIEVES OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR COUNTRY TO BE CRUCIAL TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND IN PARTICULAR TO BE A STABILIZING FORCE WITH RESPECT TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

7. THE THIRD POINT IS THAT WE SEE IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA A SOURCE OF RESTRAINT ON BIG POWER IMPERIALISM AND ADVENTURISM, ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA.

8. MR. VICE PREMIER, ALTHOUGH YOU INDICATED THAT THERE MIGHT BE NOTHING LEFT TO TALK ABOUT, WE STILL DO HAVE SOME QUESTIONS WE WOULD LIKE TO PUT TO YOU, AND I'LL ASK THEM BRIEFLY ON BEHALF OF MY COLLEAGUES.

9. MR. VICE PREMIER, IN THE U.S. CONGRESS WE HAVE DIFFERENT RULES OF DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THOSE IN THE SENATE. IN THE SENATE, ONCE THE SENATOR HAS THE FLOOR HE CAN SPEAK FOREVER, BUT REPRESENTATIVES CAN ONLY SPEAK FOR FIVE MINUTES. BECAUSE WE HAVE SEVERAL QUESTIONS I HOPE,, MR. VICE PREMIER, THAT YOU WILL NOT THINK ME DISCOURTEOUS IF I ASK THAT YOU REPLY AS A REPRESENTATIVE AND NOT AS A SENATOR .

10. BEFORE I PUT MY QUESTIONS, I WOULD LIKE TO PUT THEM ONE BY ONE INSTEAD OF ALL AT ONCE. BECAUSE WE HAVE FOUND THAT THIS IS A SAFER PRACTICE IN OUR

COUNTRY AS WELL AS IN THIS ONE.

11. FIRST OF ALL, MR. VICE PREMIER, YOUR DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER MR. HUANG HUA, WHOM I'M PLEASED TO SEE HERE, YESTERDAY GAVE US YOUR CONFIDENTIAL

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EXDIS

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS ON THIS POINT.

12. FIRST, ARE YOU AWARE THAT IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM PRESIDENT CARTER IS NOT ENTIRELY FREE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS BY HIMSELF; THAT CONGRESS AS THE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE WILL ACT AS A RESTRAINT ON HIM; AND THAT THEREFORE NORMALIZATION REQUIRES EFFORTS ON BOTH SIDES? WE AND YOU, WE HAVE TO WORK FOR IT.

13. THE SECOND QUESTION IS, WHAT WILL NORMALIZATION MEAN? WHAT BENEFITS -- ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY -- WILL NORMALIZATION BRING TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES?

14. LI: THESE ARE VERY ODD QUESTIONS. YOUR POLITICAL SYSTEM IS UNDER YOUR MANAGEMENT AND NOT

UNDER OURS. OUR VIEWS ON SINO-US RELATIONS AND
THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES ARE I BELIEVE CLEAR ENOUGH TO YOU. THERE
IS NO REASON FOR US TO CHANGE OUR POSITION ON THIS
ISSUE, BECAUSE THIS IS AN ISSUE ON WHICH THE UNITED
STATES IS IN DEBT TO US. THE KEY TO NORMALIZATION
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OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE U.S. LIES IN THE
TAIWAN ISSUE. THE SOLUTION LIES IN ENDING THE SO-
CALLED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WITHDRAWING ALL U.S.
MILITARY FORCES AND INSTALLATIONS IN TAIWAN AND
ABROGATION OF THE SO-CALLED DEFENSE TREATY BETWEEN
THE U.S. AND THE CHIANG CLIQUE.

15. AS TO HOW WE RESOLVE THE TAIWAN QUESTIION BETWEEN
US CHINESE, THAT IS OUR AFFAIR. WHETHER WE DO IT
BY ARMS OR NOT IS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR. WE
HAVE SAID THIS TO ALL THE AMERICAN FRIENDS WHO HAVE
BEEN HERE. AS WE SEE IT THERE IS SUCH A LARGE BUNCH
OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES IN TAIWAN THAT IT PROBABLY
CAN'T BE DONE WITHOUT FIGHTING.

16. IT SEEMS TO ME -- I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THIS IS
CORRECT OR NOT -- THAT THERE IS A LARGE BODY OF
OPINION IN THE U.S. THAT WISHES TO SEE CHINA GUARAN-
TEE TO THE U.S. THAT WE WON'T USE FORCE TO LIBERATE
TAIWAN. BUT THIS IS OUR OWN BUSINESS. RECENTLY
WE SAW A JAPANESE NEWS AGENCY REPORT FROM WASHINGTON
QUOTING A U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL AS SAYING THAT
CHINA'S POSITION ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE HAS BEEN LOOSEN-
ING UP ON THIS POSITION. THE MAIN ISSUE IS THE
INTERNATIONAL ISSUE. ON THE BILATERAL SIDE TAIWAN
IS THE CRUCIAL ISSUE. OUR MINDS ARE MADE UP LIKE
GRANITE AND THEY WON'T CHANGE. OUR POSITION IS
CLEAR AND I DON'T NEED TO GO INTO DETAIL ON THESE MATTERS.

17. BRADEMAS: I HAVEN'T HEARD YOUR ANSWER TO THE
SECOND QUESTION. ARE THERE ANY GAINS THAT WILL COME
FROM NORMALIZATION? WHAT KINDS OF BENEFITS --
ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY -- WILL RESULT?

18. LI: AS I SAID JUST NOW, IT IS NOT EASY FOR
ME TO SAY ANYTHING SPECIFIC FOR THE PRESENT. WE
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WILL HAVE TO SEE HOW THE SITUATION DEVELOPS. YOU MENTIONED MILITARY JUST NOW. I CANNOT FORESEE ANY MILITARY ALLIANCE. THERE CAN BE AN INCREASE IN TRADE AND EXCHANGES OF PEOPLE. EVENTS DEVELOP.

19. BRADEMAS: THE SECOND QUESTION GOES TO THE MATTER OF RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE BOTH SEE THE SOVIET UNION AS A DANGEROUS FORCE IN THE WORLD, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM. MY COLLEAGUES AND I DON'T AGREE WITH THE POSITIONS WE HAVE HEARD SEVERAL TIMES THAT THE UNITED STATES IS APPEASING THE SOVIET UNION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THEMEN AND WOMEN IN THIS ROOM ARE THE ONES WHO HAVE VOTED BILLIONS AND BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE AND WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT. WE ARE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS OUR PRINCIPAL ENEMY. WE HEAR CHARGES OF APPEASEMENT AGAINST BUT WE ARE NOT CLEAR WHAT CHINA IS DOING IN TERMS OF ITS OWN POLICIES TO WARDS THE SOVIET UNION.

19. LI: SO YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT OUR CRITICISM OF APPEASEMENT. WE BELIEVE THAT TO VOTE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR ARMAMENTS IS ONE THING; APPEASEMENT IS ANOTHER. AND, WE ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES IN THE WORLD WHO ARE CRITICIZING APPEASEMENT, DISARMAMENT, DETENTE AND TINGS LIKE THAT. THERE ARE MANY OTHER FRIENDS IN THE WORLD WHO ARE DOING SO. HAVE YOU READ THE SPEECH BY MRS. THATCHER DELIVERED AT THE BANQUET I GAVE?

BRADEMAS: I HAVE. IT WAS A GOOD SPEECH.

LI: I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT SHE IS NOT A COMMUNIST.

ANDREWS: AN OBJECTION. SHE IS A REPUBLICAN.
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LI: A CONSERVATIVE. WHAT DO YOU THINK WE'VE BEEN DOING TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION? WE'VE NEVER CONCEALED OUR EFFORTS TO EXPOSE THEIR EXPANSIONISM. (HUANG HUA AND LI HAD A BRIEF EXCHANGE BETWEEN THEMSELVES IN MAKING THAT ANSWER.) DID YOU READ THE SPEECH I MADE AT THE BANQUET IN HONOR OF THE MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT MR. DADDAH?

BRADEMAS: NO, BUT I WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE A COPY.

LI: WE WILL GIVE YOU A COPY. IN MY SPEECH I

EXPOSED THE EXPANSIONISM AND WILD AMBITION OF SOCIAL
IMPERIALISM. OF COURSE I ALSO CRITICIZED YOU. BUT
MAINLY I EXPOSED THEIR BEHAVIOR IN THE ZAIRE SITUATION.
IF I SAY TOO MUCH ABOUT IT YYOU WILL SAY I'M EXCEED-
ING THE FIVE MINUTE RULE.

BRADEMAS: THE VICE PREMIER IS DOING VERY WELL. HE
WOULD MAKE A GOOD CONGRESSMAN. HE COULD BE OUR
LEADER.

SCHWEIKER: A GOOD SENATOR ALSO.

LI: NO, I WOULDN'T BE ONE.

20. BRADEMAs: THE VICE PREMIER'S RESPONSE TO THE
LAST QUESTION LEADS TO THE NEXT ONE. CORRECT ME IF
I AM MISTAKEN, BUT I BELIEVE THAT CHAIRMAN MAO AT
ONE POINT SAID THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MUST HAVE
PRIORITY OVER MILITARY BUILDUP. IF THAT IS THE CASE
AND GIVEN THE SPEECHES TO WHICH THE VICE PREMIER
MADE REFERENCE, CAN HE TELL US WHAT PLANS THE PRC
HAS IN A GENERAL SENSE FOR BUILDING UP ITS FUTURE
MILITARY CAPACITY, FOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS. WHAT ARE
YOUR PLANS TO GIVE SOME STEEL TO THE WORDS IN HIS
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SPEECHES? IN OTHER WORDS WHAT KIND OF CLAWS WILL
THE CHINESE TIGER HAVE? WE HAVE HEARD ITS GROWL.

LI: HAVE YOU READ THE TEN GREAT RELATIONSHIPS?

BRADEMAS: I HAVE.

LI: PERHAPS YOU KNOW OUR CLAWS HAVE BEEN PUT TO
USE. THEY WERE USED AGAINST JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

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AND THEY WERE ALSO PUT TO USE AGAINST SEVERAL MILLION
CHIANG KAI-SHEK TROOPS WHO WERE THEN SUPPORTED BY
YOUR PRESIDENT TRUMAN. AND IN THE WAR TO RESIST
U.S. AGGRESSION AND SUPPORT KOREA. WE ALSO PUT THE
CLAWS TO USE AGAINST YOU. WHAT SHAPE THEY ARE IN
NOW I CAN'T SAY VERY CLEARLY. BUT WHEN IT IS TIME
THEY WILL BE PUT TO USE. OUR PRINCIPLE IS WE WON'T
ATTACK UNLESS WE ARE ATTACKED, BUT IF WE ARE ATTACKED
WE WILL CERTAINLY COUNTERATTACK.

BRADEMAS: I HOPE IT WILL DO. I WILL SPEAK FRANKLY
AS AMONG FRIENDS, SINCE WHAT UNITES US IS MORE THAN
WHAT DIVIDES US. THE SOVIET UNION IS THE SOVIET UNION
IN THE 1970S. IT IS NOT THE SAME AS THE UNITED STATES
IN KOREA OR CHIANG KAI-SHEK. WE LIVE IN AN AGE OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I HOPE WE HAVE NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT.

LI: DON'T BE AFRAID. DON'T DESCRIBE NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AS SO FEROCIOUS.

DURKIN: I DON'T THINK ANYONE IS AFRAID.

LI: NOT NECESSARILY.

BRADEMAS (TO DURKIN): JOHN, DID YOU WANT TO ASK SOME
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SPECIAL QUESTIONS?

LI: CAN IT BE SAID THAT NO ONE IN THIS ROOM IS
AFRAID? THAT NO ONE IIN THE WORLD IS AFRAID OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS? FOR INSTANCE IN CONTACTS WITH SOME
OF OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS, THEY SAY THEY ARE AFRAID.
WE TELL THEM NOT TO BE AFRAID. CAN YOU GUARANTEE
THAT NO ONE IN THE WORLD IS AFRAID?

DURKIN: SINCE THE QUESTION IS DIRECTED TO ME I WOULD
LIKE THE RIGHT TO REPLY. I'M TRYING TO REFUTE THE
VICE PREMIER'S STATEMENT THATFEAR PERMEATES THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND PRC. I HOPE THE
VICE PREMIER UNDERSTANDS THAT CHINA DOESN'T FEAR US

AND ALSO THAT WE DON'T FEAR CHINA. WE HAVE COME
HERE AS FRIENDS AND NOT AS TIGERS TEARING UP THE
TURF TO TEST EACH OTHER. EVERY RATIONAL PERSON HAS
A FEAR OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE DAMAGE THEY CAN
DO TO CHINA, TO EUROPE, TO THE SOVIET UNION, ANY
COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. I MIGHT ADD WE ALSO FEAR NUCLEAR
FALLOUT ON THE U.S. WHEN CHINA IS TESTING NUCLEAR
WEAPONS.

LI: I MUST SAY IN PASSING THAT OUR NUCLEAR TESTING
IS LESS THAN YOURS. OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET
UNION IS LIKE THE CHAIRMAN SAID. WE FEAR NEITHER
HEAVEN NOR LAW. (AT THIS POINT NANCY TANG EXPLAINED
THAT THIS WAS A REFERENCE TO A PUN CONCERNING A MONK
HOLDING AN UMBRELLA OVER HIS SHAVEN HEAD IN WHICH THE
SOUND IS THE SAME AS SAYING THERE IS NEITHER HEAVEN
NOR LAW.)

21. CULVER: MR. VICE PREMIER, YOU REFERRED TO MRS.
THATCHER'S SPEECH ABOUT APPEASING THE SOVIETS. I
WISH TO SAY HOW MUCH WE WELCOME ANY CONTRIBUTION BY
MRS. THATCHER OR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE COMMON
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DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE. THE FACT IS IT IS THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THAT HAS 300,000 TROOPS IN
EUROPE. THE FACT IS THAT AMERICAN WILL AND AMERICAN
MONEY AND THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN EUROPE MAKE NATO
A VIABLE DEFENSE AGAINST SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. MRS.
THATCHER IS WELCOME TO CONTRIBUTE TO THAT EFFORT
WITHOUT ANY OBSTACLE OR INHIBITIONS FROM OUR GOVERN-
MENT.

22. SECONDLY, MANY OF US FEEL THAT THE SOVIETS MAY
FEINT TO THE WEST AND ATTACK IN THE EAST. IN 1958
THE SOVIETS HAD 15 DIVISIONS ON YOUR BORDER. TODAY
THEY HAVE 50 -- A QUARTER OF THEIR TOTAL MILITARY
CAPABILITY. THEY ARE VERY MODERN. MY QUESTION, IN
THE EVENT OF SOVIET MILITARY AGGRESSION WITH MODERN
ARMORED CAPABILITY IN YOUR JUDGMENT DOES THE PLA
CURRENTLY REQUIRE GREATER MILITARY CAPABILITY --
SOPHISTICATED CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS, ANTI-TANK
WEAPONS, OVER-THE-HORIZON RADAR -- IN ORDER TO BE
BETTER PREPARED FOR THE DEFENSE OF YOUR OWN NATION?

LI: YOU HAVE EXCEEDED FIVE MINUTES.

CULVER: I THINK IT REALLY WAS ONLY TWO MINUTES. OF
COURSE I'M CHALLENGING THE VICE PREMIER BUT IN THE
U.S. WE ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH AND I

WANTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS RIGHT.

DURKIN: I YIELD SOME OF MY TIME FOR THE ANSWER.

CHIP CARTER: SHE (REFERRING TO NANCY TENG, WHO INTERPRETED LI'S COMMENT) MEANT THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR HER TO INTERPRET WHEN YOU SPEAK SO LONG.

CULVER: SHE IS VERY GIFTED. SHE CAN HANDLE IT.

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23. LI: AS FOR THE ISSUE YOU JUST NOW RAISED, FOR INSTANCE WHAT YOU JUST SAID ABOUT EUROPE, I THINK THAT SOME EUROPEANS MIGHT FEEL YOUR WORDS TO BE NOT VERY JUST. YOU STRESSED U.S. FUNDS, U.S. TROOPS AND THE U. S. PRESENCE IN EUROPE. YOU SHOULD ADOPT A MORE EQUAL ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPE. WE HOPE TO SEE AN EQUAL PATNERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

24. YOU SAID THERE ARE 50 SOVIET DIVISIONS ON OUR BORDERS. THAT MUST EQUAL THE TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE SOVIETS EAST OF THE URALS. THERE ARE ONLY ONE MILLION TROOPS. THEY COULD ADD ONE MILLION MORE AND IT WOULDN'T BE SUFFICIENT TO INTIMIDATE US. OF COURSE WE WILL RAISE THE FIGHTING CAPACITY OF OUR FORCES.

25. WE HOPE YOU WILL BE ON GOOD TERMS WITH THE EUROPEANS. A TIMES THERE WILL BE CRITICISM OF YOU.

26. AS FOR OUR PLA I DON'T KNOW IF YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH OUR HISTORY. WITH US THE HUMAN FACTOR COMES FIRST. WEAPONS ARE IMPORTANT BUT THE HUMAN FACTOR IS THE DECISIVE FAVOR. THAT'S OUR EXPERIENCE THROUGH HISTORY. AT THE TIME OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR, THE JAPANESE WERE BETTER ARMED THAN E. WHEN WE FOUGHT AGAINST THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK TROOPS THEY HAD A NAVY, AN AIR FORCE AND ARTILLERY. WE HAD A TINY ARTILLERY, LIKE THE TIP OF THE LITTLE FINGER. AS I SEE IT, THERE WILL BE A WAY WHEN WAR BREAKS OUT. BUT WE WON'T BE THE FIRST TO FIRE A SHOT.

27. BRRADEMAS: MR. VCE PREMIER, WE KNOW OF YOUR OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP IN DEVELOPING THE ECONOMY AND IN PLANNING. IN VIEW OF THE DROUGHT, THE EARTHQUAKES AND THE LEADERSHIP CHANGES IN YOUR COUNTRY, HOW DO YOU SEE THE FUTURE OF CHINA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WHAT CONTRIBUTIONS DO YOU BELIEVE CAN BE MADE

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BY OTHER COUNTRIES?

LI: AS FOR THAT WE WORK ACCORDING TO THE SERIES
OF INSTRUCTIONS AND TEACHINGS OF CHAIRMAN MAO
CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF OUR COUNTRY. AMONG THEM
IS THE TEN GREAT RELATIONSHIPS. ONE OF THE GOOD
THINGS IS THAT WE HAVE ENOUGH ENERGY, ENOUGH IRON
ORE AN ENOUGH NONFERROUS METALS. WE WISH TO DEVELOP

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EXDIS

OUR ECONOMY WITH HIGHSPEED AND IN A PLANNED AND
WELL-PROPORTIONED WAY. AS FOR IMPORTING ADVANCED
TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES WE
DON'T EXCLUDE THAT. WE STAND FOR SELF-RELIANCE
AND UNDER THAT PRECONDITION WE IMPORT ADVANCED
TECHNOLOGY ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL
-BENEFIT BUT WE DON'T GO FOR FOREIGN LOANS. (NOTED:
THE TERM LOANS WAS FIRST TRANSLATED AS CREDITS. HUANG
HUA CORRECTED IT.) I THINK WE HAVE BOUGHT A BIT
FROM THE UNITED STATES.

BRADEMAS: CONGRESSMAN ANDREWS WANTS YOU TO BUY MORE WHEAT.

28. ANDREWS: A JOURNEY BEGINS WITH THE FIRST STEP.
WE HAVE WELCOMED THE EXCHANGES THAT WE HAVE HAD WITH
YOUR COUNTRY. THEY HAVE HAD A GOOD EFFECT. OUR
PEOPLE BACK HOME HOWEVER WOULD LIKE TO HAVE MORE
TRADE. WE SEE YOU BUYING WHEAT FROM CANADA

IN THE NORTH AND ARGENTINA IN THE SOUTH. WE WOULD
LIKE TO SELL YOU WHEAT. WE WOULD LIKE TO PURCHASE
AND TRADE WITH YOU. WE COULD GAIN BETTER UNDERSTANDING
BY THIS METHOD.

LI: WE ALSO EXPORT SOME GRAIN.

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ANDREWS: I KNOW. WE FARMERS ARE TAKING MATTERS
INTO OUR OWN HANDS AND HAVE FORMED OUR OWN COOPERATIVE.
WE DON'T LIKE THE INTERNATIONAL GRAIN TRADERS. OUR
COOPERATIVE HAS A REPRESENTATIVE IN JAPAN THAT IS
AUTHORIZED TO SELL GRAIN TO JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES
BUT NOT TO TAIWAN. THIS IS BECAUSE IN THE LONG
TERM INTEREST OF OUR COUNTRY WE WOULD LIKE TO DO
BUSINESS WITH YOU.

LI: THAT WILL DEPEND ON HOW MUCH FOOD GRAIN WE IMPORT
AND IT WOULD DEPEND UPON OUR NEEDS.

ANDREWS: YOU HAVE BOUGHT SOME SOYBEANS ALREADY AND
WE APPRECIATE THAT.

LI: I'M NOT CLEAR ABOUT THAT. IT'S A MATTER FOR
THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE.

ANDREWS: YOU CAN MAKE OUR INTEREST KNOWN TO HIM.

LI: THAT WILL DEPEND UPON WHETHER WE HAVE ENOUGH
MONEY AND OUR NEEDS. YOU HAVE ALSO HAD A DRY SPELL.

ANDREWS: IT HAS BEEN VERY SEVERE. IN NORTH DAKOTA
WE HAVE HAD NO RAIN FOR SIX MONTHS. WE HOPE IN
TERMS OF WORLD NEEDS THAT RAIN WILL COME. AND IN
TERMS OF THE GREAT PROGRESS YOUR NATION HAS MADE,
WE HOPE YOUR ABILITY TO FEED YOUR PEOPLE WILL
CONTINUE. WE HOPE ALSO OUR ABILITY TO SUPPLY MORE
FOOD TO THE WORLD WILL CONTINUE.

LI: WE SHOULD SEND A MESSAGE TO GOD AND ASK WHY HE
DOESN'T SEND SOME RAIN DOWN.

29. BRADEMAS: I SPOKE OF CHANGES IN YOUR TOP LEADERSHIP.
THERE HAS BEEN MUCH SPECULATION IN THE PAPERS ABOUT THE FUTURE
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OF TENG HSIAO-PING. CAN YOU TELL US ANYTHING?

LI: I UNDERSTOOD (MEANING HE UNDERSTOOD WITH OUT TRANSLATION). COMRADE TENG IS ONE OF OUR COMRADES. HE IS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. ALTHOUGH HE HAS MADE MISTAKES, CHAIRMAN MAO CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED THE POLICY OF TREATING THE AILMENT TO SAVE THE PATIENT AND CRITICIZING PAST ERRORS TO PREVENT FUTURE ONES. THE GANG OF FOUR WANTED TO KILL HIM IN ONE BLOW. THEREFORE WE BELIEVE COMRADE TENG HSIAO-PING SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO WORK. WE ARE FULLY CONFIDENT THAT CHAIRMAN HUA WILL MAKE APPROPRIATE ARRANGENEMTS. I DON'T BELIEVE A LOT OF THE THINGS PRINTED IN THE FOREIGN PRESS ARE FULLY RELIABLE IN THE OPINION THEY CREATE.

BRADEMAS: I AGREE.

LI: IF THEY WANT TO KEEP RPINTING IT WE CAN'T PREVENT IT.

30. DANIELSON: I REPRESENT A DISTRICT IN WHICH THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE OF CHINESE EXTRACTION. THEY HOPE TO LEARN IF THERE IS SOME WAY THEY CAN SEE RELATIVES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BEFORE THEY DIE. CAN SOMETHING BE DONE TO HAVE A RELAXATION OF VISAS SO THAT THEIR RELATIVES CAN GO TO THE US OR THEY CAN VISIT THEIR PEOPLE HERE? THEY HAVE CLOSE FEELINGS FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THEY WANT MORE EXCHANGES OF VISITS.

LI: WE ALSO HAVE MANY PEOPLE OF CHINESE ORIGIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THEY COME IN LARGE NUMBERS. TO MY KNOWLEDGE, MANY HAVE ALSO COME FROM THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. SEVERAL THOUSANDS OF THEM.

DANIELSON: THANK YOU, BUT THEY ALSO WANT THEIR RELATIVES HERE TO COME TO THE U.S. TO VISIT THEM.

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LI: THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN A NUMBER FROM HERE GOING TO THE UNITED STATES. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THERE ARE ALSO INSTANCES IN WHICH CHINESE WHO WISH TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES MUST FIRST AGREE TO TAKE THE STATUS OF REFUGEES. SO THERE ARE OTHER ISSUES.

31. DURKIN: MR. VICE PREMIER: ONE OF THE EARLIER QUESTIONS RAISED MIGHT HAVE BEEN MISCONCEIVED BY US. WE DON'T WANT TO CHANGE YOUR SYSTEM. WE WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THOSE WHO WANT TO SEE NORMALIZATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NORMALIZATION

IS A FUNCTION OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CONGRESS,
AND ALSO OUR PEOPLE. WE KNOW YOU HAVE REASONS FOR
NOT SENDING YOUR TOP PEOPLE BUT IT DELAYS NORMALIZATION.
IF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA COULD SEE CHINA THE WAY
WE HAVE SEEN IT THIS WEEK IT WOULD BE EASIER FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS TO PUSH FOR NORMALIZATION.
WE WOULD LIKE TO WORK IT OUT SO THAT A
TELEVISION CREW COULD SPEND TIME IN CHINA AND SHOW
MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN SEEING THIS
WEEK. THIS WOULD DO AN AWFUL LOT TO SPEED UP NORMALIZATION.

32. SECONDLY, ASIDE FROM TAIWAN AND OUR MUTUAL
CONCERN ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION WHAT ARE AREAS IN
WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S. AND CHINA CAN WORK
TOGETHER AND COOPERATE AND HELP EACH OTHER?

LI: I CAN'T AGREE WITH YOUR FIRST POINT, THAT WITH-
OUT A VISIT OF A SENIOR PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL NORMALIZATION WOULD BE DELAYED.
I CAN'T AGREE WITH THAT. WITH THE SO-CALLED TAIWAN
REGIME EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HOW CAN WE SEND A HIGH
OFFICIAL? I DON'T THINK IT IS ACCURATE TO SAY THAT
THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A SENIOR VISIT WOULD DELAY NOR-
MALIZATION. FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE ABOUT TO ESTABLISH
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH JORDAN BUT THERE HAVE
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BEEN NO HIGH-LEVEL VISITS THERE. I SAY THAT JUST
AS AN EXAMPLE. WE HAVE ALSO ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES WITHOUT
SUCH VISITS. IT IS NOT A SUFFICIENT REASON.

DURKIN: I'M NOT MAKING MYSELF SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR.
JORDAN IS ONE THING. O.K., I'VE GOT MY ANSWER.

33. LI: ON THE TELEVISION QUESTION, THERE HAVE
BEEN TELEVISION CREWS FROM THE UNITED STATES. THIS
IS SOMETHING FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND
THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO GET INTO. MRS. LUCY JARVIS
CAME WITH A CREWS TO DO A FILM ON THE PALACE MUSEUM.
I THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE CULTURAL EXCHANGES
AND EXCHANGES OF PEOPLE, AS WELL AS SOME TRADE.

34. BRADEMAS: I SEE FOUR HANDS. I WOULD ASK
FOR SOME SUCCINCT QUESTIONS.

35. EDWARDS: FIRST, LET ME MAKE A STATEMENT AND
THEN ASK A QUESTION. YOU CAUGHT US BY SURPRISE
WHEN YOU SAID CHINESE NEED POLITICAL ASYLUM OR
REFUGEE STATUES IN ORDER TO GO TO THE UNITED STATES.

I HAVE CONFERRED HASTILY WITH MY STATE DEPARTMENT COLLEAGUES AND THEY TELL ME THERE IS NO SUCH REQUIREMENT. (NOTE: LI HAD ORIGINALLY REFERRED TO POLITICAL ASYLUM, THEN CORRECTED THAT TO REFUGEE STATUS.) NANCY TANG: THAT WAS A MISTAKE TO REFER TO POLITICAL ASYLUM. IT IS NOT ASYLUM, IT IS REFUGEES.

EDWARDS: THAT IS ALL WRONG. I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF THE VICE PREMIER WOULD GIVE HIS REACTION TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 7 PEKING 0723

EXDIS

THE ELECTIONS IN INDIA AND THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT THEREV AND HOW HE VIEWS THE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH ASIA, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO PAKISTAN.

LI: OF COURSE THE INDIAN ELECTIONS ARE THE BUSINESS OF INDIA. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO SAY MUCH. IT IS THEIR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. WE DON'T WISH TO COMMENT. MAY I ASK YOUR OPINION?

BRADEMAS: WE ARE HAPPY WITH IT, BOTH DEMOCRATS - AND REPUBLICANS. WE PREFER DEMOCRACY TO TOTALITARIAN RULE.

LI: I MIGHT ALSO SAY THAT WE HAVE OUR OPINION ABOUT YOUR DEMOCRACY.

BRADEMAS: WE ARE AWARE OF IT. HOW ABOUT PAKISTAN? CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS ASKED ABOUT THE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH ASIA PARTICULARLY WITH REFERENCE TO PAKISTAN.

LI: OF COURSE YOU KNOW BHUTTO IS A GOOD FRIEND OF OURS.

BRADEMAS: HE WAS A CLASSMATE OF MINE IN UNIVERSITY.
HE IS A GOOD FRIEND OF MINE.

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LI: AS YOU SEE FROM THE PRESS SOMETHING IS GOING
ON THERE. SEVERAL FRIENDS HAVE PUT FORWARD QUESTIONS.
ARE THERE SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN TOGETHER HERE?
WE SPOKE ABOUT YOUR DEMOCRACY. DEMOCRACY IN OUR
COUNTRY WHEN EXERCISED IS AMONG THE WHOLE PEOPLE.
NOT ONLY MASS MEETINGS BUT AIRING OF VIEWS IN A
MAJOR WAY: BIG - CHARACTER POSTERS AND MASS DEBATE.
IT'S A PITY YOU DIDN'T COME AT THE HIGH POINT OF THE
CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THINGS WERE QUITE ANIMATED AT THAT TIME.

36. AS WE SEE IT AMONG THE MANY COMMON POINTS
BETWEEN US THERE IS ONE. THERE IS A SOCIAL IMPERIALIST
COUNTRY IN THE WORLD THAT HAS EXPANSIONIST
AMBITIONS AND IS PUTTING THEM INTO EFFECT. THERE-
FORE WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN TALKING ABOUT DETENTE
AND DISARMAMENT. AS I SEE IT DETENTE MEANS TENSION.
WE SEE THAT AFTER THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE
ON EUROPEAN SECURITY THERE WAS AN INVASION IN ANGOLA.
WHILE THEY TALK ABOUT DISARMAMENT, THEY INCREASED
THEIR TROOPS BY ONE MILLION IN TEN YEARS. WE HEAR
THAT THEIR ECONOMY HAS A GNP THAT IS ONLY 50 TO 60
PERCENT OF YOURS, BUT THEIR MILITARY EXPENDITURES TO
SAY THE LEAST ARE NOT LESS THAN YOURS. SOME SAY
THEY ARE MORE. CAN THERE BE NO DIFFICULTIES FOR THEM
TO ENGAGE IN MILITARY EXPANSION ON THE BASIS OF SUCH
AN ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.

37. WHEN ONE GOES IN FOR HEGEMONY ONE PUTS ONE'S
SELF IN THE POSITION OF THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD. ALTHOUGH SOME IN THE WORLD MAY NOT
SEE THIS CLEARLY YET THEY WILL COME TO SEE IT.
EGYPT IS A CASE IN POINT. DO YOU THINK THE EASTERN
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FEEL COMFORTABLE UNDER THE CONTROL
OF THE SOVIETS, TO HAVE THE SOVIETS FIGURATIVELY
CLIMB ON THEIR HEADS AND HEAP ABUSE ON THEM.

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38. WE THINK THAT CLASS CONTRADICTIONS AND NATIONALITY
CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE VERY

ACUTE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY IS DIPROPOR-
TIONATE. THEY DON'T CARE FOR THE LIVELIHOOD OF THE
PEOPLE. THEY DEVELOP THEIR MILITARY INDUSTRIES IN
ALOPSIDED WAY. TO DO THAT ACCORDING TO THEIR WAY
OF THINKING THEY STRESS HEAVY INDUSTRY AT THE EXPENSE
OF AGRICULTURE AND LIGHT INDUSTRY, CAUSING THESE TO
LAG BEHIND. THAT IS WHY WE SAY THAT THOUGH THE
SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO BE STRONG IT IS AS MAO
DESCRIBED IT, A PAPER TIGER. THE SOVIET UNION AND
IMPERIALISM FROM A STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW ARE PAPER
TIGERS. FROM A TACTICAL STANDPOINT THEY MUST BE
TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. SO WE HAVE A SAYING THAT WE
MUST BE PREPARED FOR WAR, BE PREPARED FOR NATURAL
DISASTERS AND DO EVERYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE. WE SAY
SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM FROM A STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW IS A
PAPER TIGER; FROM A TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW IT IS AN IRON TIGER.

39. BRADEMAs: I AGREE WITH MUCH OF YOUR ANALYSIS,
ESPECIALLY CONCERNING THE IMPRIALIST AMBITIONS OF
THE SOVIET UNION. HOWEVER THERE IS A CONTRADICTION
IN WHAT HE SAYS WHEN HE EXPRESSES FEAR OF SO HUGE
A SOVIET GNP INVESTMENT IN MILITARY WHILE CALLING IT
A PAPER TIGER. WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE MILITARY
CAPACITY OF THE SOVIET UNION. THAT IS WHY WE--UNLIKE
SOME OTHER COUNTRIES--INVEST SO MUCH MONEY IN DEVELOPING
A POWERFUL DEFENSE SYSTEM.

LI: I SEE NO CONTRADICTION IN THAT. BECAUSE WHEN
I SAY THE SOVIET UNION IS A PAPER TIGER THAT IS THE
CASE FROM AN OVER-ALL POINT OF VIEW; FROM A LONG-
TERM POINT OF VIEW; FROM A STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW.
THERE ARE MANY SIMILAR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES FOR
EXAMPLE HITLER DURING WORLD WAR II OCCUPIED MOST OF
EUROPE AND SOME OF NORTH AFRICA BUT WHAT DID HE FINALLY COME TO
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--COLLAPSE.

40. BRADEMAs: YES, AT THE HANDS OF THE UNITED STATES.

LI: NO. I AGREE YOU PUT YOUR STRENGTH INTO IT. BUT
IN TERMS OF WORLD WAR II--AND I AM NOT DEFENDING
THE SOVIET UNION--THE SOVIETS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE.

BRADEMAs: OF COURSE.

LI: THE SOVIETS OF COURSE WERE THEN UNDER STALIN
AND THEY WERE A SOCIALIST COUNTRY. THAT'S
WHY STALIN'S PICTURE IS IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE.

41. CONTE: MR. VICE PREMIER, WE AR VERY PLEASED
TO BE HERE. YOU ARE CONSIDERED A TOP ECONOMIST AND
ECONOMIC PLANNER. COULD YOU TELL US ABOUT THE
STATUS AND PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN?
WHAT ARE THE SECTORS TO BE EMPAHSIZED FOR CAPITAL
INVESTMENT? AGRICULTURE? THE MILITARY? WHAT ARE
THE TRADE-OFF'S? WHAT ROLE DOES PUBLIC OPINION AND
DESIRE FOR CONSUMER GOODS PLAY IN FORMULATING YOUR PLAN?

LI: THAT IS A COMPLEX ISSUE. IN ONE SENTENCE, WE
ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAIRMAN MAO'S TEACHING, THAT
OUR PRIORITIES ARE AGRICULTURE FIRST, THEN LIGHT
INDUSTRY, THEN HEAVY INDUSTRY. AGRICULTURE COMES
FIRST. THAT IS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE. OF COURSE
THERE IS AGRICULTURE IN HEAVY INDUSTRY. SINCE IT
NEEDS STEEL TRACTORS, COMBINES AND THE MECHANIZATION
OF AGRICULTURE. WE HAVE MANY PEOPLE. ALL MUST EAT.
THEREFORE IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO PAY DUE ATTENTION
TO THE NEEDSOF THE PEOPLE IN THEIR DAY-TO-DAY
LIVELIHOOD. THERE IS NO QUESTION OF A SURPLUS IN
THE COUNTRY. EVERYTHING IS INSUFFICIENT.
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EXDIS

42. HOW CAN I EXPLAIN CLEARLY THE RELATIONSHIP OF
INVESTMENT IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE ECONOMY?

EVERY TIME THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION MEEETS
THERE IS A GREAT QUARREL OVER THE DISTRIBUTION OF
INVESTMENT. THIS IS A GREAT CONTRADICTION. BUT
A GUIDING PRINCIPLE CONTROLS ALL AND THIS IS THE
LISTING OF PRIORITIES AS AGRICULTURE, LIGHT INDUSTRY AND
HEAVY INDUSTRY.

43. ROTH: YOU'VE SPOKEN OF THE NEED FOR THE U.S. TO
COOPERATE EQUALLY WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND NATO IN
HANDLING THE EXPANSIONIST AMBITIONS OF RUSSIA. IS
IT DESIRABLE FOR THE SAME REASON THAT THE UNITED
STATES COOPERATE WITH SUCH COUNTRIES IN ASIA AS
PAKISTAN AND JAPAN? IS THE U.S. PRESENT INVOLVEMENT
DESIRABLE IN THESE AREAS, SAY RETAINING A NAVAL
PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN TO CONTAIN SOVIET EXPANSIONISM?

LI: WE SUPPORT THE PROPOSITION THAT THE INDIAN OCEAN
SHOULD BE A PEACE ZONE; THAT IS THAT ALL NAVAL FORCES
SHOULD WITHDRAW, THAT IS THE NAVAL FORCES OF BOTH
SUPERPOWERS. AS FOR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, WE STAND
FOR EQUAL RELATIONS. WE BELIEE THE RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES
SHOULD BE EQUAL. DO YOU AGREE?

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BRADEMAS: I DO INDEED.
(NANCY TANG AT THIS POINT WHISPERED TO LI ON HIS ANSWER ON JAPAN.)

4. ROTH: COULD I FOLLOW THROUGH? IF THE SOVIETS
DON'T WITHDRAW FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN WOULD IT BE
APPEASEMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO WITHDRAW? YOU
SPOKE OF MILITARY COOPERATION. IS US-JAPANESE
DEFENSE COOPERATION IN THE INTEREST OF STABILITY IN ASIA?

LI: WE ARE NOT IN FAVOR OF ANY FOREIGN TROOPS ON ANY
FOREIGN SOIL. AS FOR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN WE SAID TO
JAPAN AND TO OUR OTHER FRIENDS THAT IN JAPAN'S
RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES, RELATIONS WITH THE
UNITED STATES COME FIRST.

45. CAN YOU GIVE MORE SUPPORT TO PAKISTAN?

ROTH: I WAS SPEAKING IN A BROAD SENSE.

46. LI: (TO FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA): PROBABLY
NEITHER SUPERPOWER IS LIKELY TO WITHDRAW FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN.

HUANG HUA: OF COURSE NOT, THEY ARE CONTENDING THERE.

47. BRADEMAS: HOW CAN YOU ACCUSE US OF APPEASEMENT

AT THE SAME TIME THAT YOU WANT US TO WITHDRAW OUR MILITARY PRESENCE FROM EXACTLY WHERE THERE IS A SOVIET THREAT?

LI: WHAT JUST REASON DO YOU THKNK THERE IS FOR STATIONING TROOPS ON FOREIGN SOIL?

ROTH: IS IT PROPER FOR US TROOPS TO REMAIN IN WESTERN EUROPE?

LI: IT SEEMS YOU PROBABLY CANNOT LEAVE WESTERN EUROPE. WESTERN EUROPE ALSO NEEDS YOU.
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BRADEMAS: THAT WAS NOT HIS QUESTION. IF IT IS WRONG FOR US FORCES TO BE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, WHY IS IT RIGHT FOR US FORCES TO BE IN WESTERN EUROPE?

LI: I THINK YOU'LL PROBABLY ACT ON THAT ISSUE ON YOUR OWN, ACCORDING TO WHAT YOU SEE AS THE CONCRETE CIRCUMSTANCES?

48. WHY DO YOU FIND IT INADVISABLE TO GIVE MORE AID TO PAKISTAN?

BRADEMAS: WE DIDN'T SAY IT WAS INADVISABLE. WE HAVE GIVEN ENOUGH.

CULVER: IT'S AN INTERNAL MATTER.

LI: A U.S. INTERNAL MATTER?

MANY VOICES: NO, A PAKISTAN INTERNAL MATTER.

LI: THEN IT'S AN INTERNAL U.S.-PAKISTAN MATTER.
ANDREWS: NO, IT'S A PAKISTAN INTERNAL MATTER.

LI: I THOUGHT YOU BELIEVED IN SUPPORTING ODL FRIENDS.

BRADEAMS: BHUTTO IS A PERSONAL FRIEND. THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE AGREE WITH HIS POLITICAL VIEWS. BUT THE BASIC ISSUE ON WHICH WE HAVE ALL BEEN TEASING THE VICE PREMIER IS THAT HE WANTS TO HOLD OFF THE SOVIETS, BUT DOESN'T WANT US TO HAVE SUFFICIENT FORCE SO THAT THE TIGER WILL HAVE CLAWS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, FACED WITH A SOVIET THREAT, I PREFER MANPOWER AND MISSILES TO SPEECHES. I'M SURE THE VICE PREMIER DOES TOO.

LI: WE DO NOT ONLY FIRE EMPTY CANNONS. IN 1969 WHEN THE SOVIETS ENCROACHED ON OUR BORDERS WE BEAT THEM BACK.

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BRADEMAS: WE WERE ENCOURAGED BY THAT. WE HOPE THAT
IN 1979 YOU'LL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO DO THE SAME.

LI: WE WILL FIGHT IF THEY COME IN AT ANY TIME. THERE
IS NO QUESTION ABOUT THAT.

49. BRADEMAS: YOU HAVE BEEN PATIENT AND LONG-SUFFERING.
WE KNOW YOUR IMPORTANT POSITION AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES
THAT YOU BEAR. WE HOPE THAT WE HAVEN'T INFRINGED ON
YOUR HOSPITALITY AND THAT BECAUSE OF THE FRANKNESS
OF OUR QUESTIONS YOU WON'T LET US RETURN. I YIELD
TO MY COLLEAGUE AND CO-LEADER SENATOR SCHWEIKER FOR A
FINAL STATEMENT.

LI: WE WELCOME YOU TO COME AGAIN.

50. SCHWEIKER: MR. VICE PREMIER. AS A REPUBLICAN
MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION I ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 7 OF 7 PEKING 0723

EXDIS

OPENING REMARKS OF THE CHAIRMAN CONCERNING THE PRIME
ROLE THAT CHINA PLAYS IN OUR GLOBAL POLICIES. WE
HAD A GOOD DISCUSSION WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER
CONCERNING NUCLEAR TESTING. I DIDN'T HAVE A
CHANCE HOWEVER TO MAKE ON REQUEST CONCERNING CHINESE
NUCLEAR TESTING. WE DON'T DISAGREE WITH YOUR
NUCLEAR TESTS. WE ALSO HAD NUCLEAR TESTS FOR A

NUMBER OF YEARS. WE DO NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH THAT.
IN THE LAST SERIES OF CHINESE TESTS THERE WAS A
LARGE TEST AND THERE WAS NO RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT
ON PENNSYLVANIA OR OTHER STATES BECAUSE OF FAVORABLE
ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS.

CONTE: IT FELL ON MY STATE, WE HAD TO PUT THE COWS IN THE BARN.

SCHWEIKER: LET ME FINISH. IN SMALLER TESTS THERE WAS
LOTS OF FALLOUT ON PENNSYLVANIA AND OTHER STATES
BECAUSE OF UNFAVORABLE WEATHER CONDITIONS. OUR
PENNSYLVANIA PEOPLE ALMOST HAD TO STOP DRINKING MILK.
SO WE DON'T CHALLENGE YOUR RIGHT TO CONDUCT NUCLEAR
TESTING BUT WE HOPE THAT IN FUTURE TESTING YOU'LL TAKE
INTO ACCOUNT ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS SO THAT IT WON'T
HURT OUR RELATIONS.

LI: I THINK YOU'RE EXAGGERATING THE MATTER. WHY
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WAS THERE NO PROTEST WHEN THE UNITED STATES CONDUCTED
ATMOSPHERIC TESTING? YOU DIDN'T ASK US.

SCHWEIKER: THERE WERE MANY PROTESTS. I AS A
SENATOR RECEIVED MANY SO WE STOPPED THE TESTING,
AND SIGNED THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY.

HUANG: THAT PERHAPS IS WHY YOU BELIEVE THAT OTHERS
SHOULD STOP TESTING WHEN YOU'VE COMPLETED YOUR OWN.
DO YOU THINK THIS IS FAIR?

LI: FOR COUNTRIES WITHOUT HYDROGEN BOMBS TO RAISE
THE ISSUE WE UNDERSTAND. FOR THE UNITED STATES TO
RAISE IT IS DIFFERENT FOR US. AS MAO PUT IT, THE
U.S. NUCLEAR ARSENAL IS AS LARGE AS A THUMB, BUT
CHINA'S IS LIKE ONLY A SMALL FINGERTIP. SUCH A TINY
BIT SEEMS TO BE SUCH A LARGE ISSUE. CAN IT BE SAID
THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN YOUR HANDS ARE NOT DANGEROUS
BUT IN OUR HANDS THEY ARE?

CARTER: THE POINT WAS THAT YOUR TESTING IS ALL RIGHT BUT
THAT YOU SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS.

HUANG: WE CONDUCT NUCLEAR TESTS ON OUR OWN TERRITORY.
THEREFORE IT MIGHT BE SAID THAT THE GREATEST DANGER IS TO OUR
OWN PEOPLE.

51. LI: I THINK THAT THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN
HERE ARE STATESMEN. THEREFORE IT WOULD BE BETTER
FOR US TO CONCENTRATE ON MAJOR ISSUES.

CARTER: I HAVE NO QUESTIONS. YOU HAVE ANSWERED
ALL OF THEM, BUT I WANT TO EXPRESS THANKS FOR THE
HOSPITALTY. WHEN I GO BACK I WILL TAKE YOUR
REGARDS YOU HAVE SENT TO MY FATHER AND I THANK YOU
FOR INVITING SUCH AN IMPORTANT GROUP FOR MY BIRTHDAY.
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LI: HAPPY BIRTHDAY.

CARTER: NOW I AM 27, IT IS LEGAL FOR ME TO GET MARRIED
IN YOUR COUNTRY.

BRADEMAs: HIS WIFE JUST HAD A BABY.

CULVER: THEY WERE MARRIED THEN.

LI: CONGRATULATIONS.

BRADEMAs: THANKS FOR YOUR PATIENCE.

LI: WE MUST FOCUS ON LARGE ISSUES AND THE OVER-ALL
SCENE. (WHILE WALKING OUT WITH THE GROUP.) IT
WILL NOT DO IF WE DEAL WITH THINGS PIECEMEAL.
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